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New and improved educationalising: faster, more powerful and longer lasting

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New and improved educationalising: faster, more powerful and longer lasting

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This paper is a historical and critical analysis of changes in features of educationalisation focusing on how educationalisation has been characterised over time by a peculiar interweaving of knowledge and social reform. The history of the American Social Science Association provides a backdrop; drawing on the theories of Deleuze, this paper highlights historical differences between previous and current educationalisation features in research and schooling. Building on the Deleuzian analysis, the paper then examines characteristics of Problem-based Learning, as an example of educationalisation, in so far as it casts education as an engineering task. The paper concludes with a critical analysis of norm-referenced standards in educational research and schooling, questioning the relationship between education and empowerment.

Keywords: American social science association; Deleuze; societies of control; assessment; accountability; life-long learning; problem-based learning

Educationalisation is the social tendency to behave as if education were responsible for solving social problems. Educationalisation as a concept derives from the German *Pädagogisierung*, a term that indicates the transformation of social issues into pedagogical issues. In particular, educationalisation applies to the current condition in the USA (and elsewhere) in which educational systems have been held accountable for reducing poverty, improving public health, and cleaning up the environment. Educationalisation trends present a tangle of ethical issues that range from debates about curricular mandates to the responsibilities of teachers for fostering democratic citizenship. In this paper, I do not make any recommendations with respect to these ethical issues. Rather, by taking the approach of historical comparison, I highlight some of the ethical consequences of educationalisation that have become naturalised in practice.

In order to provide some parameters by which I might identify characteristics of educationalisation, I have found it helpful to draw on Mary Furner's (1975) history of the American Social Science Association (ASSA) and James Kaminsky's (1993) history of educational philosophy. Furner argues compellingly that the mission of the

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early ASSA was one of reform. Her book is aptly titled *Advocacy and objectivity*, and she writes:

> Though ASSA [American Social Science Association] reached in many directions, two definite impulses were always present: the urge to reform and the quest for knowledge. At the beginning, reform was the dominant theme. (Furner 1975, 11)

In this characterisation of social science the inextricable relationship between research and practice is already apparent.

In its early days (c.1865), the ASSA positioned itself to guide legislators in their design of scientifically valid social policy. Furner emphasises that the ASSA approach to government was new and different:

> Through the ages political thinkers had relied on a priori theories, using moral rather than empirical justifications for the measures they wrote into law. No one had advocated scientific methods for the improvement of government. (Furner 1975, 26)

I find that Furner's history illuminates aspects of educationalisation by explicating some historical relations between the search for knowledge and the urge to reform society. The history of the ASSA sets the stage for general expectations that educational research will contribute to the solution of social problems.

Similarly, Kaminsky's (1993) history of educational philosophy ties the history of the social sciences together with educational projects: '"Social science" and "education" were related concepts in mid-nineteenth-century Europe and America. They had a common ancestry in social and moral philosophy' (Kaminsky 1993, 8). Drawing favourably on Furner's work, Kaminsky makes the point that the ASSA, with its twin agendas of research and reform, put its institutional faith in education as the means by which society might be improved:

> The American Social Science Association articulated the questions of moral philosophy to social reform, social practices, and institutions of everyday life... The association's original goal, the generation of social facts, represented a not inconsiderable faith in the power of ideas. This naïve faith in ideas was a conceit of influential members of America's middle class that led to the belief that information would somehow conjure away poverty and its ancillary evils, or failing that, legislate them away. (Kaminsky 1993, 8)

Furner's and Kaminsky's historical insights help us to understand the ways in which educationalisation interweaves knowledge and activism. The combination of knowledge and activism also extends the scope of ethical issues facing educators. From that starting-point, I have begun to recognise the following characteristics of educationalisation in current times:

- Rationalisation that is pervasive and fine-grained.
- Governance modes that resemble *societies of control* (Deleuze):
  monitoring that is more frequent and faster paced;
  accountability to more and different bosses;
  foreclosure of the possibility of completion.
- Seeing the world in terms of problems to be solved.
- Norm-referenced evaluations.

As a way of trying to understand current technologies of the interweaving of knowledge and reform, I look at each of these characteristics in turn.

It is not my intention to claim that educationalisation is a bad thing, a good thing or a dangerous thing. I am more interested in thinking about how educationalisation works these days in research and practice – the ethical consequences of educationalisation practices. I would like to explore the distinguishing characteristics of current educationalisation practices with particular reference to how such practices are different from previous eras. The purpose of this historical comparison is not to make claims about historiographical continuity, discontinuity or exceptionalism, but rather to discern more acutely the effects of educationalisation on the ethical engagements in which I am implicated.

Rationalisation

The progressive rationalisation of social processes over the past 100 years has already been well documented in educational research. Drawing from parallel analyses in history, sociology and political science, educational researchers have studied how education in general, and teaching in particular, have become understood more and more in terms of atomistic components, fixed knowledge concepts, and law-like principles. Popkewitz (1994), for example, wrote: 'A widespread rationalisation of school processes occurred not through direct state intervention but, rather, through epistemologies associated with local school administration'(1994, 267). Similarly, emphasising the classical opposition between rationalisation and bureaucratisation, Labaree (1992) wrote:

> while opposing bureaucratization, the [teacher professionalisation] movement promises to enhance the rationalization of classroom instruction. The difference is that bureaucratisation focuses on organization in the narrow sense of the word, locating power in a hierarchy of offices and thus effecting outcomes by command from supervisor to subordinate; whereas rationalization focuses on organization in the broader sense – as process – embedding power in the principles of formal rationality that shape the discourse and procedures by which people guide their actions. (Labaree 1992, 147)

Rationalisation has been recognised as a component of modernisation, and in that way, educational systems and educational research contribute to and are influenced by rationalising processes.

We can see in more recent standards-based reforms that rationalisation impulses have become even more intensive and more pervasive. In 1988, it was reasonable for Abbott (1988) to assert that there were professional fields in which knowledge remained outside the realm of rationalisation. Abbott wrote, 'some professions work with knowledge that is highly rationalisable, as does engineering, while others, like psycho-therapy, do not' (Abbott 1988, 178). However, professional domains that had previously been exempt from thoroughgoing rationalisation have recently been permeated and shaped by the intensification of rationalisation in nearly all areas of life including most forms of psychotherapy. The intensification of rationalisation also appears in the form of increased attention to detail; it might even be called micro-managing. These days we see step-by-step guidebooks for creativity and brainstorming.[1] Rationalisation raises ethical issues of ethnocentrism and exclusion to the extent that standards of rationality reflect culturally specific worldviews.

Societies of control

Rather than argue about educationalisation in traditionally structural terms of autonomy and subordination, Gilles Deleuze (1992) outlines a mode of governance that he calls 'societies of control'. Deleuze's approach does not assume an institutional separation between those who govern and those who are governed. Rather, Deleuze examines relations of power in which governance can be exercised in many forms by different people and various mechanisms. The major purpose of his analysis is to draw a provocative distinction between 'societies of control' and 'societies of discipline'.[2] I find Deleuze's theory generative as a means to understand mechanisms of educationalisation in which the relations of power do not conform to traditional patterns of domination, subordination and socialisation. Furthermore, Deleuze's theory affords some critical leverage for exploring how educationalisation is conducted in ways that are more or less explicitly defined.

Among other things, when he characterises current conditions of governance, Deleuze sounds a death knell for traditional modern institutions of social organisation:

> The administrations in charge never cease announcing supposedly necessary reforms: to reform schools, to reform industries, hospitals, the armed forces, prisons. But everyone knows that these institutions are finished, whatever the length of their expiration periods. It's only a matter of administering their last rites and of keeping people employed until the installation of the new forces knocking at the door. These are the *societies of control*, which are in the process of replacing the disciplinary societies. (Deleuze 1992, 4; emphasis in original)

Here Deleuze suggests that new or emerging patterns of power relations are sufficiently distinct from the relations of modernity that a society of discipline no longer pertains to all aspects of society, and that the emerging power relations constitute societies of control. I have taken Deleuze's analysis and used it to illuminate some of the current temporal features of educationalisation. I understand Deleuze's control society as different from a disciplinary society in three respects. To summarise briefly:

- Both discipline and control societies are characterised by the self-monitoring gaze, but in a control society the monitoring is conducted at a higher frequency than it is in a disciplinary society. This appears as an unrelenting series of assessments as an approach to solving problems.
- Regulations and standards in a disciplinary society tend to be fairly centralised and relatively stable; however, standards in a control society are more heterogeneous and quickly changing. This appears as diversified accountability measures by which a wide array of different standards may be applied simultaneously to evaluate practices and performances.
- A disciplinary society afforded the promise of closure or completion of a project; however, a control society offers no possibility of closure or completion. We can see this mode most clearly in the pervasive and enduring support for lifelong learning.

High-frequency assessments

Assessment is an educational practice, and the proliferation of assessments is an indication of educationalising trends. The first salient aspect of the disciplinary society that is different in the control society is in the frequency and pace at which assessments

are administered. In a disciplinary society, the outcome or product may be evaluated only once, perhaps by a final exam or quality control unit at the end or completion of a session. Similarly, in a disciplinary society, at the end of the term or factory assembly-line, students or products are inspected, tested and evaluated. Within the educational domain, the intensification of assessment mechanisms is evident in patterns of teacher certification. Previous practice was that teachers were certified once and for all. However, current certification requires 'Continuing educational credits', re-training or refresher courses to maintain certification, and the proliferation of assessment instruments that provide institutions and social agencies with minute-by-minute data updates on teacher effectiveness.

High-frequency assessment practices also shape educational research. For example, I was recently required to update my certification to conduct research involving human subjects. My university Institutional Review Board (IRB) has outsourced this training to a professional body called the Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative (CITI: http://www.citiprogram.org/) that provides online training modules complete with graphics and quizzes. CITI reports to my university when I have passed the tests for conducting research. Our IRB will not approve any research protocol unless the investigators have completed the training and refresher courses. According to this relatively recent policy implementation, I must refresh my research certification every year. According to the directions on the research-training module, the training session is supposed to take two hours. There are several different training units from which I was required to choose five, such as 'Using historical documents', 'Doing research in schools' and 'Using double-blind trials for drug testing'. Most of the questions in the quiz directly following the modules are answered directly within the training module text.

In these training modules for research ethics, we can see evidence of high-frequency assessments as a particular technology of educationalisation. Embedded in this training exercise is the assumption that a track record of research experience is not a satisfactory indicator of the ability to conduct ethical research. In other words, even if a researcher has an impeccable record of ethical conduct in research after 10 or 20 years, that record will not serve to certify that researcher as qualified in the eyes of the IRB. A career record of exemplary scholarly conduct is not acceptable as an indicator of the capacity to do ethical research. Rather, yearly participation in these two-hour training modules, however perfunctory, is the only recognised indicator of the qualification to conduct ethical research. In this research-training module, the implication is that if I take two hours every year to read brief online training documents and pass the corresponding quizzes, then I can be regarded officially as an ethical researcher.[3] Most interesting, perhaps, is that the very last required section of the training module is an evaluation of the training module itself. Of course, post-event evaluations are not new. However, they have recently become ubiquitous; evaluation forms are obligatory for almost any institutional gathering these days. My university even administers evaluation forms for some ceremonies and celebratory events. Furthermore, the mechanism of educationalisation was explicitly associated with the development of an ethical disposition. The evaluation form included the question: 'Because of this training module, I am now a more ethical researcher. Agree or disagree.'

There is an expectation that all sorts of life decisions will be made on the basis of assessment data including career choices, marriage choices, architectural designs and restaurant menus. In the United States many prison walls are now painted pink as a result

of assessments that indicate a decrease in violent behaviour in environments with pink walls. Business and marketing decisions are driven less by individual aspirations, visions, innovation, and improvement; rather, the modern approach to business is to base almost all decisions on assessment data about what will sell.[4] Assessments are used not only in educational and business sectors, but also in religion. *CHAT* stands for Church Health Assessment Tool, 'a convenient, affordable, user-friendly online survey that allows you to get an accurate measurement of your church's health in as little as 30 days'.[5] In the USA corporations that develop assessment instruments (e.g., Educational Testing Services [ETS] and American College Testing [ACT]) have grown to multi-billion dollar industries, and they have diversified the range of assessment instruments beyond the academy and the school. In 2002, ACT restructured itself into two divisions, 'Education and workforce development'.[6] The ETS homepage announces: 'The family: America's smallest school.' The increased reliance on assessment data in many social domains is one way educationalisation is operating now.

According to Deleuze, monitoring in a control society is more frequent than in a disciplinary society. A control society is characterised by continuous monitoring: 'Indeed, just as the corporation replaces the factory, *perpetual training* tends to replace the school, and *continuous control* to replace the examination' (Deleuze 1992, 5; first emphasis in original, second emphasis added). In schools, there is evidence of a shift from grading on the basis of a final exam to grading many more frequent tests throughout the semester. Smaller weekly papers are replacing the 'one big' research paper required in previous decades. Interactive teaching as a pedagogical technique constitutes continuous monitoring; the discourse directs attention to each turn of dialogue – each 'interaction' – in a way that is more frequent than previous lecture-based or discussion-based pedagogies. New teacher preparation standards include requirements for something called 'embedded assessments'. To embed assessments means to add an assessment dimension to all teaching activities: to keep track of participation in discussions, to check up on students' thinking in informal conversations, and to include activities and assignments that reveal standards-based performances. Assessment instruments have twin purposes of producing knowledge and directing reform efforts; they are proliferating not only in educational sectors, but also in workplaces, governments, churches and families.

In educational research, then, we see pressure for 'evidence-based' or 'data-driven' studies. For many types of educational research, evidence is defined as data from assessments. In so far as educational research perpetuates reliance on assessment data – as the focus of analysis and as the genre of argument – the ethical implications of educationalisation as faster-paced assessments begin to include issues of autonomy and coercion.

Accountability to more and different bosses

The second aspect of governance in a control society is in the heterogeneity of standards. Standards in a disciplinary society could be regarded as relatively centralized or coherent. In contrast, a control society is one in which 'standards and demands can come from anywhere at any time, in any form' (Ball 1999). For example, a school curriculum is no longer accountable only to state-of-the-art knowledge in the (university) disciplines; rather, accountability requirements have even gone far beyond School Boards and

Departments of Education. More recently, school curricular decisions are now also accountable to local businesses, churches, parents' groups, social service providers, psychiatrists and police forces. In order to manage a classroom, teachers must be familiar with a wide range of experts in order to make appropriate referrals for children to social services, parent representatives, community liaisons and legal services. Education is understood to serve a multicultural, multilingual and culturally fragmented constituency. In some places, school governance includes the participation of representatives from the McDonalds or Taco Bell franchises that operate in the school lunchrooms (Kaplan 1996).

Hatch (1988) provides some specific examples of the heterogeneity of standards that is common across professional domains:

> In our own day, the ascendancy of the professions is accompanied by equally strident attack from at least four quarters: from consumer groups who complain of escalating professional fees and unequal distribution of professional service; from critics of professional schools who lament an exclusively utilitarian curriculum; from those who fault the strictly academic standards of access to the professions; and from those who find that professionalism serves to reinforce and extend the inequalities of American society. (Hatch 1988, 5)

Accountability mechanisms are self-perpetuating. With several masters to please, dissatisfaction is inevitable. Dissatisfaction can then become a warrant for further reform. In order to carry out reform, usually more performance assessments are required. A program evaluation approach called '360-degree feedback' is becoming an industry standard. Also called 'multi-rater feedback' or 'multi-source assessment', 360-degree feedback means that everybody in an organisation evaluates everybody else: professors evaluate students, custodians evaluate professors and secretaries evaluate supervisors. Evaluation approaches such as 360-degree feedback are symptomatic of educationalising trends that generate and maintain accountability to heterogeneous standards.

In educational research, the proliferation of standards can be seen in the diversification of funding sources and in the diversification of readership circles. Traditionally, educational research has been funded by national endowments and state departments of education. However, more recently, the sources of research grants have shifted from government agencies to private foundations. With foundation funding, a much more diverse array of criteria has been put in place that includes meeting the needs of various interest groups, addressing special needs requests and implementing particular commercial curricula or materials. In this way, the standards and criteria for research funding have diversified and research accountability has shifted away from a monolithic standard and towards multiple and changing standards. Furthermore, in recent sets of university expectations, educational researchers are expected to publish research reports that are not only directed to an audience of academic peers, but are also readable by the local public, and of interest to readers all over the world. This expectation has established a different set of rhetorical demands on educational researchers. Evidence and arguments are drawn eclectically from scholarly and popular literature in order to be able to speak effectively to a wide array of stakeholders at the same time.[7]

Never-ending improvement

According to Deleuze, the final contrast between the discipline society and the control society is in the (im)possibility for completion. In a disciplinary society, one could

graduate or be finished with a course of education. However, in a control society, completion is not an option:

> In the disciplinary societies, one was always starting again … while in the societies of control one is never finished with anything – the corporation, the educational system, the armed services being metastable states coexisting in one and the same modulation, like a universal system of deformation. (Deleuze 1992, 5)

The notion of 'never finished' is inscribed in lifelong learning and continuing education programs that have been promoted as mechanisms for educationalisation. One never graduates; one never completes an education; and one is continually in the process of educationalising.[8] Considerable literature has now been devoted to lifelong learning and lifelong education from the point of view of both advocacy and critique. The most recent (2001) *International handbook of lifelong learning* contains 40 chapters, most of which regard lifelong learning as a good thing (although some chapters are quite critical of aspects of lifelong learning). In his introduction to the handbook, Peter Sheehan (2001) wrote:

> So important is the concept [of lifelong learning], it should be seen by all of us as representing a new philosophy of education and training, one that aims to facilitate a coherent set of links and pathways between work, school and education, and recognize the necessity for government to give incentives to industry and their employees so they can truly 'invest' in lifelong learning. (Sheehan 2001, xi)

Like Sheehan, most authors represented in the handbook praise the fact that education is now coherently linked with work and government. It appears that advocates of lifelong learning seem to regard educationalisation as a desirable thing. Their aspirations reflect those of the early ASSA, in which education and social improvement are mutually supportive.

We are all familiar with educationalising efforts that are extended through lifelong learning for people who are older and older. However, there are also extensions of current educationalising projects for people who are younger and younger. New standards of teacher preparation in the USA have begun to talk about a curriculum for children aged 0–3 years. In some places, teachers can be certified for the 0–3 age group.

Insofar as lifelong learning is regarded as a step towards social improvement, educational research can then assume that the problems of society are due to a deficiency of educational interventions. That allows research to focus on how to deliver more education more effectively, more efficiently and over a longer period of time. The ethical issues pertinent to control societies include questions about the locus of power and authority, as well as competing demands for democratic citizenship.

Seeing the world in terms of problems to be solved

In addition to Deleuze's modes of governance in a control society, another educationalising trend is a change in technologies by which knowledge gets generated, that is a change in assumptions about what we ought to know. One of the trendiest approaches to pedagogy in the USA now is Problem-based Learning (PBL). This approach began in medical schools and is still used in the training of medical professionals in the USA. In its medical school origins, a PBL approach presents medical students with a case of a patient who has a set of symptoms. Medical students then draw on knowledge

and do research in order to analyse the case and arrive at an accurate diagnosis and plan of action. PBL is now popular in disciplines other than medicine, and especially in science courses at secondary and college levels.

When science is taught according to an approach of PBL, it tends to conflate science and engineering, intellectual and practical domains. We can see a similar trend in the growth of courses and departments of Forensic Biology, the application of biology to law enforcement. Educators often advocate PBL because they see it as relevant to students' interests; PBL is seen as an appropriate and effective pedagogical approach because by contextualising knowledge in applied settings, students can appreciate the real-life value of scientific knowledge. PBL is supposed to increase students' motivation to learn. Furthermore, PBL is regarded as effective pedagogy in so far as the purpose of schooling is seen as preparation for the workforce.

Just as the ASSA combined purposes of intellectual inquiry and social reform, a PBL approach to educational research combines intellectual pursuits together with applied solutions to everyday problems. The combination of intellectual and practical domains is characteristic of professionalisation trends. In this way, discourses of relevance, motivation and utility combine with science (a conflation of science and engineering) to render a particular professionalised worldview. As a result, it has begun to make sense to look at the world in terms of problems to be solved. When we see the world in terms of problems to be solved, then knowledge pursuit must be justified in terms of applicability and utility. Applications for grant funding increasingly require an answer to the question 'So what?' which means: 'What good will this do us?'

This current educationalising trend of investigating the world in terms of problems to be solved may appear to be an expression of utilitarianism. However, the current version of utilitarian thinking has diverged dramatically from that of John Stuart Mill, and the difference signals an ethical quandary in education. Mill, for example, supported Comte's distinction between the concrete and abstract sciences. For Mill scientific development meant a progression towards mathematics and away from social governance concerns. Mill explicitly argued against an approach of problem-based learning:

> How few . . . of the discoveries which have changed the face of the world, either were or could have been arrived at by investigations aiming directly at the object! Would the mariner's compass ever have been found by direct efforts for the improvement of navigation? Should we have reached the electric telegraph by any amount of striving for a means of instantaneous communication, if Franklin had not identified electricity with lightning, and Ampère with magnetism? (Mill 2005, online version)

PBL, then, illustrates a particular way in which educationalisation works in research and schooling these days. Justified on the basis of its scientific relevance and professional utility, PBL represents a radical departure from earlier notions of science and utility. The PBL approach also circumscribes what counts as knowledge and reinforces the attitude that education ought to be about engineering: solving existing problems.

Norm-referenced evaluations

Here I think about norm-referenced evaluations in educationalising trends as an indication of closed-loop thinking and built-in conservatism. Norm referencing has some relation to reproduction theories of schooling; however, reproduction theories have generally emphasised the reproduction of social hierarchies, and also the imposition of

privileged-class values on society at large. Norm-referenced evaluation, in contrast, is more amorphous and hegemonic than unified and dominant. Norm referencing is a heterogeneous dynamic in which norms and standards can be generated and maintained by any minority or sub-group, and the shaping of norms can just as easily come from the 'bottom up' as from the 'top down'.

Until now, evaluation instruments have been classified as either criterion referenced or norm referenced. In this classification, a criterion-referenced score reflects the test taker's performance against a degree of mastery in a selected domain; a norm-referenced score reflects the test taker's performance against the performances of other test takers. This distinction may be taken to imply that criterion-referenced tests are not based on social norms. However, I think that norm referencing has prevailed, and recent evaluation procedures indicate an intensification of the technologies of norm-referenced testing. Even evaluation instruments that claim to be criterion referenced are now shaped by norm referencing in their processes of design and development. For example, for any evaluation instrument, particular test questions are derived not from canonical texts or authoritative principles, but rather from popular surveys about what it is important to know. Test items must be selected and edited to be in conformity with established norms of political correctness, inclusivity and religious proscriptions.[9] In yet another layer of norm referencing, test items are chosen through a process of test development in which results from pilot tests get compared to the results of previously established tests, and new test items are continually modified until the new test results correlate with the old test results. In that way, evaluation results may be reported in terms of criteria (i.e., on the basis of a percentage of right and wrong answers), but the questions and the answers were designed to conform to and reinforce existing social norms. From a historical point of view, so-called criterion-referenced tests are also norm-referenced tests because knowledge requirements (the criteria) have all been set by popular opinion and convention.

The Intelligence Quotient (IQ) is an example of another kind of conflation of norm-referenced and criterion-referenced thinking. By definition, an IQ score of 100 is calibrated to represent the 50th percentile (norm-referenced) of test takers, so for an IQ measurement, there is literally no distinction between a criterion- and a norm-referenced score.

The norm-referencing aspect of educationalisation can also be seen in the growing popularity of focus groups as the means by which social entities gather information about what to do and how to think. Originally designed to tap into popular opinion about the reception of commercial products, focus groups have become increasingly popular and diversified in purpose. For example, the US federal government uses focus groups to guide decisions about substantive changes in programs and also to tailor public relations campaigns. Norm-referenced standards pose ethical questions for educators and researchers in so far as the status quo is perpetuated and social justice reforms are thwarted in policy and practice.

Conclusion: educationalisation is more powerful than ever

From the early days of the American Social Science Association, education and social improvement have been conjoined. Cruikshank's (1999) work calls our attention to ways in which educationalising is a project of empowerment. Cruikshank analyses the ways empowerment works to produce citizens. If we take her analysis and substitute *educators*

for *citizens*, then we can gain some critical purchase on the workings of empowerment in educationalisation:

> Like any discourse, the discourses of empowerment are learned, habitual, and material . . . It is quite natural to seek the cause of political problems in order to prescribe a cure. It is my hope that readers . . . will find it harder to pin a political problem on the lack of *education*. I hope that in its stead we will interrogate what there is in the will to empower, the technologies of *educationalisation*, and arts of government by which the various kinds of *educationalisation* we have are constituted. (Cruikshank 1999, 123; italicised words added in place of the original *citizen, citizenship* and *citizens*.)

Cruikshank (1999) sees empowerment as yet another kind of discipline: 'I link the operationalization of social scientific knowledge to what Theresa Funiciello calls 'the professionalization of being human' or what Foucault called 'bio-power'' (Cruikshank 1999, 20). From this point of view, the appeal of educationalising trends becomes apparent. Educationalising is desirable because it empowers people and solves problems.

Right-wing think-tank contributor Charles Murray agrees that educationalisation is a prominent trend. Murray's position on race and intelligence is famously objectionable;[10] however, his statement about educationalisation is some indication that educationalising trends are acknowledged not only by critical intellectuals, but also by academics from a diverse array of political persuasions:

> Education is becoming the preferred method for diagnosing and attacking a wide range [of] problems in American life. The No Child Left Behind Act is one prominent example. Another is the recent volley of articles that blame rising income inequality on the increasing economic premium for advanced education. Crime, drugs, extramarital births, unemployment – you name the problem, and I will show you a stack of claims that education is to blame, or at least implicated. (Murray 2007, A21)

What, then, might be considered to be characteristics of non- or anti-educationalisation? Perhaps the closest version has been described by Paul Smeyers as that which is 'haphazard, discontinuous and unsystematic'. This exploration of current technologies of educationalisation has suggested that the analytical concept of educationalisation is a fruitful one that helps us see some patterns and trends of governance. At the same time, this characterisation of educationalising technologies has provided another perspective on the original ASSA's optimism that the world can be made a better place through the power of ideas. Yes, educationalising is faster, more powerful and longer lasting. At the same time, the effects of educationalising technologies have far-reaching ethical implications. These effects are shaped by the historically specific characteristics of those technologies, which these days include reliance on assessment-based decision-making and problem-based evaluations of what counts as knowledge.

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Notes

1. See, e.g., http://www.jpb.com/creative/brainstorming.php

2. By choosing those terms of contrast, Deleuze (1992) is apparently suggesting an alternative to Foucault's theories of discipline.
3. I recognise that one factor influencing the research-training requirement is the university's response to an increasingly litigious society. The university requires training courses as a way of protecting its legal interests. This factor does not diminish the relevance of high-frequency assessments as a mechanism of educationalisation.
4. An exception to assessment-based marketing occurred with Absolut vodka. A phenomenon in the advertising field, Absolut ran an ad campaign that was personal and quirky. The marketers' decision-making process rejected all accepted wisdom about how to make advertising decisions. The result was wildly successful. See Lewis (1996).
5. http://www.healthychurch.net/
6. See http://www.act.org/aboutact/history.html
7. This paper exemplifies that educationalising trend.
8. I was hopeful when I ran across a citation for an article called, 'Sentencing learners to life: retrofitting the academy for the information age', but it turned out that only the title is pertinent here.
9. US standardised test designers reject any test items that refer to farms or farming. They argue that test questions about farms put urban children in a disadvantaged position.
10. See Herrnstein and Murray (1994).

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